/133 cont./

3. A third order of convergent factors can be found on the plane of family organization, through interethnic marriage and the compadrio system. In the last chapter we saw the high index of interethnic mestizos in the cities, in relation to the index of intertribal mestizos. On comparing these indices with those obtained for the aldea population (particularly, Cachoeirinha), we found that the proportion was reversed in such a way that it led us to diagnose the present tendency of marriage in the urban zones. What is seen is a tendency on the part of the urbanized population to contract unions with individuals of another ethnic origin /etnia/, especially on the part of the women who regard a "Purutuya" husband as a means of bettering their pattern of living. In the interviews carried out in the cities and in the aldeas suburban to them, such as Aldeinha, Passarinho, and Moreira (as in Limão Verde as well, but because of its multiple ethnic composition), one finds this expectation on the woman's part, nurtured by such conclusive examples as the occurrence of satisfactory marriages made by their women friends. When it comes to men it seems to be more difficult, and even when a marriage occurs, it is nearly always contracted with a colored woman. It cannot be denied that barriers created by prejudice make interethnic unions difficult, especially when the men are Indians. But, on the other hand, and this is what we must bear in mind, the Terêna man does not improve his situation by marrying a "civilizada," regardless of her color. (203) On the contrary. Generally this

203. The only woman of another ethnic origin for whom the young Terêna shows obvious enthusiasm is a Japanese. On the basis of the experiences of some /Terêna men/ who worked in Japanese

/133 cont./

*177 582 563 369 562 [349]

colônias (in the município of Campo Grande or in Terenos), and who observed there the great capacity of the /Japanese/ woman for agricultural work, the young Terêna men began to eye the Japanese woman with great interest. Naturally this is the case with the aldea Terêna, since it is he who devotes his activities to planting and does not see in the women of his own group good fellow workers on the land. (Cf. our work, 1958b.)

[241]

*177 582 563 369 562 [571] situation gets worse: if he lives in an aldea and takes his wife there, she seldom adjusts to the Terêna community, and in addition is discriminated against by it; if he lives in a city (a more common /134/ situation and really an easier one to cope with), as a rule he must own some material goods in order to win the girl, and this makes marriage quite costly, not only for financial reasons but especially in terms of the gradual (in some cases immediate) estrangement from his ethnic group, even though he continues to consider himself Terêna, speaking the language and occasionally meeting with his old companions.

563 608 557 The widening of the family network by means of the compadrio system constitutes a technique of Terêna accommodation in Brazilian society, when the godparents invited to the baptism of his children are selected from among the regional neo-Brazilian population or among the "Purutuya" who enjoy privileged positions in the city or on the fazendas. At the time when the Terêna scattered among the fazendas--from the [175] [85]

/134 cont./

Paraguayan war to the passage of the Rondon Commission--, baptism and consequently the compadrio system (in its most formal form) was almost a compulsory affair, during the visits of the padres to the "colônias," generally with the consent of the fazendeiro. The surnames that the Terêna carry today, adopted from their godparents, are a witness to that period. At present, with the probable exception of the population that still resides on fazendas, this is no longer of such frequent occurrence: in the aldeas, the intra- and intertribal compadrio system is almost absolute, (204) thus strengthening the tribal

> 204. In the aldeas, the only "Purutuya" godparent is the post superintendent, for obvious reasons.

solidarity threatened by the intense process of change to which the group has been subjected; in the cities, the interethnic compadrio is more common, not only because the field is naturally broader, but especially owing to the Indian's desire to rise socially through this. It is evident that the same mechanisms function here as those that lead individuals from the poorer classes to seek, by the technique of the compadrio, to rise on the social scale; it is only that in relation to ethnic groups--as is the case with the Terêna--, the compadrio represents, rather than social climbing, integration into the dominant structure. Nevertheless, it is unnecessary to underscore the fact that the compadrio is a technique rarely utilized by individuals of the soi disant Protestant group: the institution with results parallel /135/ to the compadrio for the "Believer," is the Evangelical fraternity that is built on worship groups.

4. Among all of the acculturative agencies that have undermined tribal resistance to change, the most effective have been the religious missions. Since this is true of all the indigenous groups that were subjected to religious proselytism

/139 cont./ There is no doubt that the
*66 gradual political awakening of the Terêna has been an incentive
*177 to assimilation, by contributing to the intensification of inter-
648 ethnic relations with a clearly defined objective, such as playing a role in "Purutuya" politics, i.e., to obtain symmetrical relations, or, in some cases, such as that of the urbanized Indians, to fight for the rights of the class to which they belong. For this reason, we can regard the activity of the political parties, directly or indirectly, as a convergent factor of the greatest importance in the process of assimilation.

*177 6. With the exception of the factors noted in the first
● 557 two paragraphs (1 and 2), in which we dealt with the attraction the cities exercise on the Terêna, and of military service as the source of new experiences and advantages to the young Indian man, the other factors operate exclusively on the plane of acculturation, not exercising any appreciable influence on social mobility. The case of the councilman mentioned above, in perspective, does not permit us to judge the importance of the increase in political awareness on this last-mentioned plane, since his case seems to be the only one with which we are acquainted up to now. There is no case of spatial mobility or of social climbing through political mechanisms. The factor
[464] that plays the most significant part in the occurrence of social mobility is the labor market. In it, as has already been mentioned several times, the Terêna hold an important place from various standpoints.

*177 These Indians made up the basic labor force, for a long
464 time, /140/ on the fazendas that formed in southern Mato Grosso, especially in the proximities of the region they occupied.
[178] With the railroad and the resulting population growth in the southern part of the state, their importance naturally decreased, but they did not cease to be recruited for agricultural work, herding, and especially, the extraction of timber and angico bark, and the retention of their place on the regional labor
[461] market was thus assured. Among these varieties of work, they
[147] have no peers in the extractive tasks, for which they have

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
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565 555 [701] the fallen man, and blew a horn. This both announced his triumph and claimed for himself the title of Xuna-Xati. "War Chiefs" were recruited from the social group formed by the Xuna-Xati, i. e., from this group of "decorated" warriors, without regard for *social* or *ethnic* gackground. It was, however, infrequent for a Kauti who was also a Xuna-Xati to be named a "War Chief", according to our informants. He would have had to be exceptional indeed to compete with the powerful group of Xuna-Xati who were Terena by birth. It appears that this "chieftainship" was retained by the Naati/Xuna-Xati or by the Waherê/Xuna-Xati, which demonstrates that the *ethnic* line was harder to cross than was the *social* line, in Terena society (cf. Figure III).

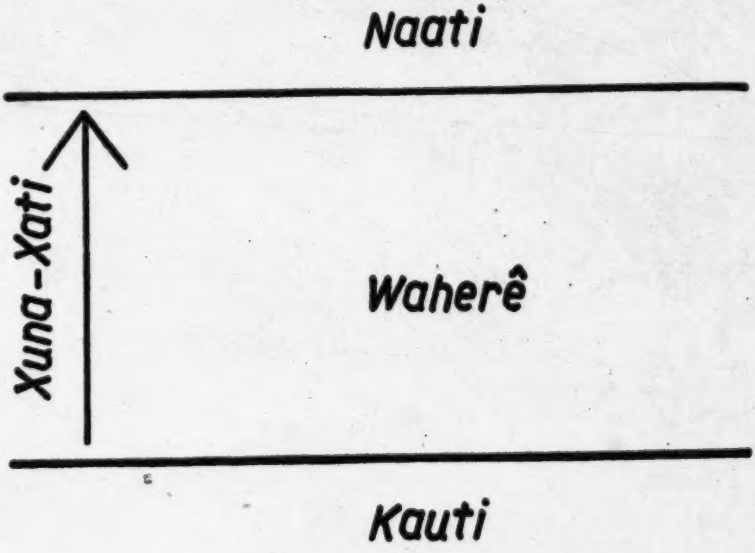

Figure III

582 565 557 The role played by the institution of the Xuna-Xati in the matrimonial sphere was extremely important. It succeeded in breaking stratum endogamy which, in structural terms, seemed absolute. The Kauti/Xuna-Xati came to have the right to marry Waherê women (Waherê-Seenó), just as the Waherê/Xuna-Xati could marry a Naati woman (Naati-Seenó). Thus a man of an inferior stratum could seek a wife from the next superior stratum. Although there was apparently nothing

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
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in the structure that prevented a Kauti/Xuna-Xati from marrying a Naati-Seenó, this apparently was made difficult by the greater resistance of the Naati, as the in-group, to stratum exogamy. The very same mechanisms which made difficult—or for practical purposes prevented—the promotion of a Kauti/Xuna-Xati to the post of "War Chief", function here as well in maintaining the endogamy of the group. Terena society on the whole regarded as a sufficient concession the admission of the Kauti/Xuna-Xati and their sons as members of the tribe. They had thus formally broken the ethnic line which separated them. But even thus the noble families, the "Chiefs of the People", i. e., the Naati, were very reluctant to admit them as members of the in-group. This is attested to by the differential status accorded the "War Chiefs" and the "Chiefs of the People". The prestige of the latter was much greater than that of the former (Altenfelder Silva, 1949 : 319-320). The Naati normally accepted the Waheré/Xuna-Xati, however, as mates of their women.[11] The advantage for a Naati in becoming also a Xuna-Xati was that it made him eligible for possible selection as a "War Chief". He already possessed the indispensable prerequisite of bitrh for being selected "Chief of the People". We should note here that in each local Terena group there was a single "Chief of the People" and a single "War Chief".

With the dynamic which this vertical mobility gave to the threefold assymetrical structure, Terena society had to find a way of accommodating the children of the Xuna-Xati (whether they were Kauti or Waheré) in the total social structure, i. e., not just in the threefold structure, but also in the twofold symmetrical structure. Thus the marriage a Kauti/Xuna-Xati man with a Waheré Xumonó woman for example, resulted in sons that were Xuna-Xati/Xumonó and in daughters that were Waheré-Seenó/Xumonó. The sons followed the paternal line as far as the title of *killer* (or warrior) was concerned, and the maternal line in moiety membership; the daughters followed the maternal line in both stratum and moiety membership (cf. Figure IV, a). If we were to examine the position of descendants of the union of a Waheré/Xuna-Xati/Suririkionó man, for example, with a Naati-Seenó/Suririkionó woman, the sons would have the same social position as the father, and the daughters the same as the mother (cf. Figure IV, b). In the first case the relationship seems to be regulated by a principle of double descent; while in the second by bilinearity.

Terena kinship relations, with the exception of the Xuna-Xati, had

[11] If we admit the thesis of Levi-Strauss, by which marriage is an interchange of women (1949), then the Naati would be at a distinct disadvantage, since they gave women to the Waheré/Xuna-Xati and received none in return, having to find their wives in other local groups, as we will show below.

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
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565 554 611 851 been bilateral by the very fact of stratum and moiety endogamy. With the introduction of the Xuna-Xati institution it came to be alternately patrilineal and matrilineal, as shown in the above examples. Some aspects, however, are not too clear. One of these has to do with the extension of the Xuna-Xati standing not only to the true sons of Ego (masculine), but also to all those who were included withim the classificatory term Dje-á i. e., to male offspring, the masculine members of one's sibling group. The disappearance of the social structure here studied leaves this problem practically unsolvable.

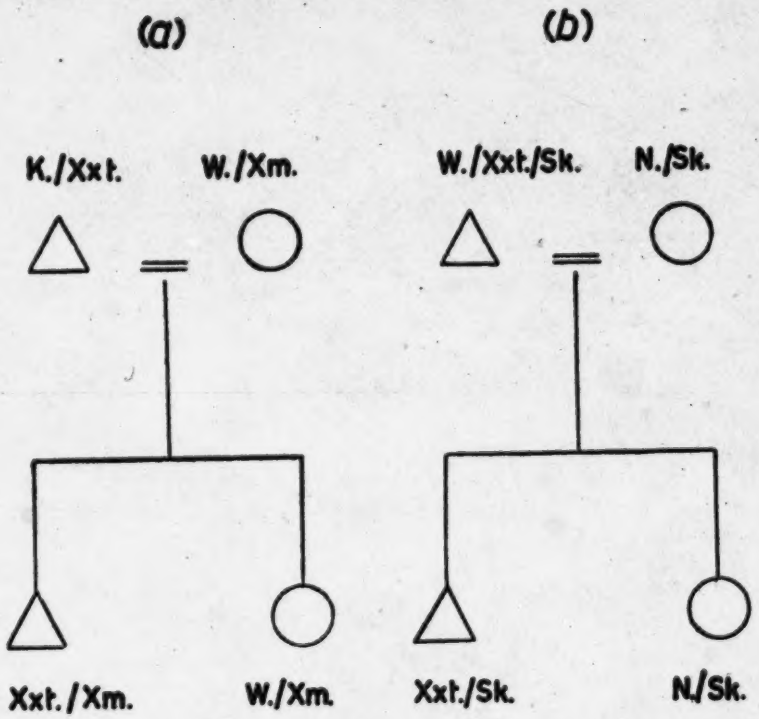

Figure IV

565 554 557 611 In summary, the existence of the Xuna-Xati as a mechanism for increasing both social position (either by enlarging the possibilities of marriage or by integration into the dominant tribal group), as well as political stature ("War Chief"), created a series of aspirations in aboriginal Terena society which were shared by all strata of the

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population. The status of *warrior hero* came to be a goal for all males, giving the Xuna-Xati an intensely integrative function in the lical groups, by means of the correspondences and adjustments in the roles of the warriors and in their acquired social rights. On the other hand, by also stimulating skill and bravery in combat, it helped physically to preserve Terena society.

5. The Kinship System

Except for minor differences which do not affect the structure, our analysis of the Terena kinship system corresponds with that recorded by oberg (1949) and Altenfelder Silva (1949). We will limit ourselves, therefore, to classifying it as of the "Hawaiian" type, following Murdock (1951 : 64), and to analyzing certain important relationships that have a bearing on the problems dealt with in this paper.

Examining the kinship system we find that consanguineous marriage was prohibited. Neither marriage among cousins, whether parallel or cross-cousins, nor between uncle/niece and nephew/aun was permitted (cf. Figure V). Sexual relations between children of father's and mother's brothers and sisters was considered incestuous, since all the children were treated as siblings. Thus Terena society, by laying emphasis on the solidarity of a group of brothers and sisters in a fashion that accords well with the principle of the unity of the sibling group (Radcliffe-Brown, 1952 : 64-67), reduced even more the permitted area for matrimony, already greatly reduced by stratum and moiety endogamy. A marriage that seemingly would be permitted or perhaps even preferred, between children of siblings of the opposite sex of Ego, i. e., those persons classified as Nevongé, is actually impossible because of the Terena emphasis on the solidarity of the sibling group. Wheter or not such a marriage was once permitted as the kinship terminology seems to imply, cannot be conclusively answered on the basis of the evidence in hand. Present day Terena deny it categorically. And not even tribal mythology presents us with a clue, as it does in the case of marriage between in-laws.

Among affinal relations, the preferred marriage seems to have been with the spouse of a dead brother or sister, i. e., sororate and levirate marriage. Along with these forms there also existed simple and sororal polygyny although these were not necessarily preferred forms. To a certain extent these exist down to the present, although they are now resisted by the community, as was notably one case of sororal polygyny in Cachoerinha.[12] As to sororate and levirate marriage, we found

[12] Today this type of barriage is very rare. We heard of only this case and one other in the village of Brejão. In both cases the husbands and their wives